



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

# CAN THE COST OF DISTRIBUTING FOOD PRODUCTS BE REDUCED?

BY CLYDE LYNDON KING, PH.D.,

Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania.

It is the purpose of this article to discuss the means by which food products are taken from the farmer to the consumer, in order to find out where unnecessary handling and costs may be eliminated, and the route from producer to consumer shortened and made more efficient.

## FORCES FIXING WHOLESALE PRICES

In getting at this question, the first factor that must be clearly kept in mind is that the prevailing prices on all farm produce are made by nation-wide and indeed by international forces.

The forces by which prices are thus kept practically uniform throughout the United States and the commercial world are four-fold: first, the practice known as diversion of shipments; second the comparatively low cost of trans-continental and of oceanic transportation; third, the use of cold storage; and fourth, the methods used in arriving at market quotations on farm products.

The large place that interstate freight transportation plays in mobility of transportation of food stuffs and in getting articles from all states and all parts of the world to places where there is the greatest local demand for them is revealed by the fact that the receipts from freight transportation in the year 1910 alone totaled \$1,418,000,000. This grand total is due, not to the fact that the rate of transportation on any given product is relatively high (for a bushel of wheat may be sent from Chicago to New York by lake or by canal for a little over 5 cents, and by all rail for but a fraction over 9 cents), but to the vast amount of freight transported. This development of intra-state, interstate and transcontinental freight has placed the Kansas or Colorado farmer much nearer to Philadelphia than the farmers around Harrisburg were a quarter of a century ago.

Moreover, a custom has arisen whereby the advantage that might otherwise come to the local farmer, due to increased demand or to shortage of supply in the neighboring farms, is overcome by the facility with which farm products from any section of the country may be sent even after transit has started to a point offering a more favorable market. This method is called diversion of shipment or selling in transit. If a car of cattle, for instance, is consigned from a Kansas shipping point to Chicago, it may, by telegram, be unloaded and placed on sale at Kansas City or at Omaha should prices at either of these places indicate greater returns than the probable price upon arrival at Chicago. Grain billed through from the Nebraska or Minnesota farm to points in the middle east or to Philadelphia and other coastwise points may be, by telegram, diverted on almost any day, to any other point in the United States. Thus, should prices be higher for any reason in Pittsburg or in Harrisburg or in Philadelphia, the car would be directed to that point in lieu of going on to Chicago or to New York or to Boston or other points where the local prices were not so high.

A second factor in fixing a nation-wide price on farm produce is the relatively small cost of interstate transportation as compared with the high cost of local transportation. It costs the United States \$73,000,000 annually to haul its produce for only twelve of its main crops from farm to shipping point. The average cost of hauling a ton of farm produce per mile is from 25 cents up. That is, if the Pennsylvania farmer has to haul a great distance, or does not have at hand adequate transportation facilities, his transportation charges will readily amount to more than the total rail transportation charges of the Kansas or Colorado farmer who sells in the same market. The average cost of hauling produce from farms to shipping points in the United States as a whole ranges from 7 to 44 cents per 100 pounds, with an average of 11 cents. The mean rate on grain, flour, and provisions in cents per 100 pounds, through from Chicago to Liverpool by all rail to seaboard, and thence by steamer is 19 cents per 100 pounds, and if brought by lake and canal to the seaboard and thence to Liverpool by steamer, the rate is not far from 15 cents per 100 pounds. That is, it costs but 4 cents per 100 pounds more to get farm produce from Chicago to Liverpool than it does to get it from the farm to the shipping point. In other words, in fixing nation-wide market quotations on farm produce, this disadvantage of the western farmer

because of his distance from the market is slight indeed so far as cost of transportation from shipping point to market is concerned.

The third factor in making for a nation-wide wholesale price on farm produce is cold storage. The butter produced in June and July is held for sale during January and February. Eggs laid during the early spring months are held for sale during the winter months of the year following. This makes for stability of price not only for one locality as compared with another, but for one season as compared with another.

The fourth factor making for fluidity and acceleration, and thus for nation-wide stability in market prices for farm products, is the method by which crop reports are issued. It is upon the basis of these reports that the produce exchanges in the primary markets of the United States and the world base their prices, both on current productions and on futures. Information as to crop conditions is secured by the Bureau of Statistics of the United States Department of Agriculture—the most highly organized crop reporting department of the world. This bureau has about 50 statisticians and clerks in the city of Washington, 15 to 20 special traveling reporting agents outside of Washington, a state agent paid for part of his time in each state of the Union, 3,000 county correspondents, and 30,000 township and individual correspondents, giving voluntary service as crop reporters. The bureau thus secures at least four classes of reports as to acreage, conditions, etc., of each crop. From these four classes of reports, the Board arrives at state averages and totals, and national averages and totals as to crop conditions, including the leading facts as to acreage and condition of each crop in each and every locality. At a stated hour, this report is sent world-wide by telegraph and telephone. The primary markets, such as New York, Chicago and New Orleans use these reports as a basis for market prices. To this national crop reporting agency is now being added an international crop reporting agency. It is proposed that this agency have headquarters at Rome in the new International Institute of Agriculture, which has already a Bureau of Agricultural Statistics collecting world wide data and supplying these facts to the forty-nine adhering countries. Each of the great produce exchange concerns has also its own crop reporting agents at work not only in this country but in all other countries as well. Thus prices of farm products are based on crop conditions, not only in every section of the United States, but also in every section

of the world. The influence of local production in any one state in the Union, that is, in fixing farm prices is relatively small.

#### THE COST OF FOOD DISTRIBUTION

Just what share of consumer's prices goes to the man who raises the food? Within the last year two reports have been issued that attempt to answer this question for Philadelphia and New York City respectively. The first was made by the author of this article to Mayor Rudolph Blankenburg on Philadelphia prices; the other by the committee on markets, prices and costs of the New York State Food Investigating Commission. The former was made in October; the latter in August, of 1912. These reports are typical of prices received by farmers and paid by city dwellers.

#### *Farmers' Versus Consumers' Prices in Philadelphia*

The table on page 203 gives the prices received by the farmer for certain types of produce shipped into Philadelphia from the outlying counties. It also gives the prices paid by each set of middlemen and the consumer, and the per cent added thereby to each preceding price.

The first item indicated in this table is the price received by those farmers whose sales are not large enough to warrant their dealing directly with the commission men. The price received by the farmers who sell direct to commission men would be the price indicated for the "jobber." But the average farmer whose sales are not large and who is not in telephonic communication with commission houses usually sells through some intermediary who in turn sells to the commission man.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The price received by the farmer was secured from the price paid by the country stores and other jobbers and from replies to scores of letters sent out to farmers in all directions from Philadelphia. This letter particularly asked the farmers to give the prices on all produce that they had sold during the weeks ending July 20 and 27.

The cost of freight given as the second item is an estimate for freight on small quantities for distances of from twenty-five to fifty miles. Often it is the trolley rate, though sometimes it is the cost of transportation by steam rail or the estimated cost of wagon transportation. In some instances the freight charge has been estimated from points where the freight is greatest, while in

TABLE GIVING THE PRICE RECEIVED BY THE PRODUCER AND EACH MIDDLEMAN AND THE PERCENT INCREASE OF EACH PRICE OVER THE PRECEDING PRICE, TOGETHER WITH THE TOTAL INCREASE OF CONSUMERS' PRICES OVER PRODUCERS' PRICES  
(From a Report by the author to Mayor Rudolph Blankenburg, October, 1912, p. 13)

	FARMER		PLUS FREIGHT TO TERMINAL		JOBBER <sup>1</sup>		WHOLESALE		RETAILER		Per Cent Increase of Consumers' Prices Over Producers' Prices
	Price Rec'd by	Am't	Per Cent Increase Over Preceding Price		Price Rec'd by	Per Cent Increase Over Preceding Price	Price Rec'd by	Per Cent Increase Over Preceding Price	Price Rec'd by	Per Cent Increase Over Preceding Price	
Butter (low grade) per lb.....	\$0.18½	\$0.19	2		\$0.21½	13	\$0.24	11	\$0.32-	38	73-105
Butter (high grade) per lb.....	.23	.23½	2		.26	10	.29	11	.40- .45	38-55	74-96
Potatoes (low grade) per bu. <sup>3</sup> ....	.53	.62	17		.68	9	.75	10	1.10-1.30	46-73	108-145
Potatoes (high grade) per bu.....	.63	.72	14		.80	11	.90	12	1.30-1.60	44-78	106-154
Eggs (low grade) <sup>2</sup> per doz.....	.11	.12	9		.13½	12	.15	11	.25- .30	67-100	121-173
Eggs (high grade) per doz.....	.21	.22	4		.24	10	.27	11	.35	30	67
Huckleberries (low grade) per qt.	.04½	.05½	22		.06	9	.07	16	.12	71	166
Huckleberries (high grade) per qt.	.07	.08	14		.10	25	.11	10	.15	36	114
Blackberries (low grade) per qt...	.04	.05	25		.05½	10	.06	13	.12	100	200
Blackberries (high grade) per qt...	.06	.07	16		.08	14	.09	12	.15	66	150
Live Poultry (low grade) per lb...	.06	.06½	7		.09	38	.11	22	.22	100	266
Corn per dozen.....	.15	..	..		..	..	..	..	.40	..	167
Tomatoes per pk. <sup>3</sup> .....	.32	32½	1		.36	10	.40	11	.80	100	150

<sup>1</sup> For definition see article.

<sup>2</sup> In many cases these eggs are candled and part of them sold as freshly gathered eggs,—the others being sold as "rots and spots," etc. In other cases, however, they are sold to the consumer as eggs fresh from the farm. Thus one man writes that they sell as such and asks: "What is the effect of the egg law on us?"

<sup>3</sup> This is the total price when sold in the quantities the average purchaser buys; that is, a basket of potatoes and a quarter or half peck of tomatoes.

From this table it will be noted that the excess of the price paid by the consumer over the price received by producer ranges from 67 per cent to 266 per cent, the average being 136 per cent.

This is an average increase of consumers' over producers' prices, as the "prices received by the farmer" are those received by the average farmer, who does not sell in large lots, and the "price paid by the consumer" is the price paid by the average consumer, who buys in relatively small quantities.

### *Where the Costs of Distributing Food Go*

An analysis of this table shows that the costs of food distribution go for the following purposes:

1. A professional huckster or a country storeman buys from the Pennsylvania farmer and sells to the Philadelphia wholesaler. As a rule, he makes about 10 per cent of the price he pays the farmer plus freight to terminal, thus increasing the total cost of the goods from 9 to 25 per cent.
2. From 1 to 20 per cent increase of what the farmer receives goes for freight to Philadelphia terminal.
3. Then the wholesaler deducts from 5 to 10 per cent for selling it to the retailer thereby increasing the price to the consumer on the average of 11 per cent over the jobber's price.

---

other instances the minimum transportation charge is taken; all, however, are typical transportation costs.

The third item indicated in the table is the price received by "the jobber." By the jobber is meant the huckster who goes from farm to farm buying farmer's produce, or the country storeman who sells to commission men, or the jobbers who buy for large wholesale houses or large Philadelphia stores.

The prices received by the wholesaler were secured from the daily reports of wholesale prices.

The prices received by the retailer were taken from the reports sent in from the Department of Public Works. These reports were carefully prepared, at the instigation of the Director, by the leading employees in the Department. There were, in most instances, a half dozen or more reports from each of the wards in the city. If there were not more than two reports from each ward, the data were not included unless further investigation proved these reports to be typical.

Every possible effort was made to secure reports for the same grade of goods and for the same week. Both the farmers and the employees of the Department of Public Works were asked to designate the grade of goods, and to designate with care the exact date of the sale or purchase. The price indicated for any article in the table is, therefore, a price for a given week.

4. Then for handling the goods and selling them to the consumer, the retailer charges from 30 to 100 per cent increase over the wholesaler's price, with an average of 45 per cent.

It is not meant that all farm produce goes through just these channels, but it is very clear that it is this method of food distribution that fixes the price paid by the consumer, for it is this round-about method that the majority of country produce still takes.

That this table is typical is amply supported by evidence from all quarters. Of special significance is the study made under date of August, 1912, by a committee on markets, prices and costs to the New York State Food Investigating Commission on

*Wholesalers' Versus Retailers' Prices in New York City*

A table in this report shows how much is added to the cost of a food product from the time it lands at the terminal in New York City, that is, the cost to the wholesaler, until it arrives in the hands of the consumer, that is, retailer's prices. In other words, the figures from this table as given below, are the percents the retailer adds to wholesaler's prices, that is, the cost of distributing food products within the city. Thus the table reveals an increase from the terminal to the consumer of 17 per cent per pound for creamery butter and from 19 to 43 per cent for eggs. Meat prices increased from 25 to 70 per cent. Fish prices increased from 25 per cent for blue fish to 85 per cent for halibut, 160 per cent for haddock and 180 per cent for cod. Canned goods increased from 20 per cent for a low grade of pork and beans to 70 per cent for string beans, 72 per cent for peas, and 80 per cent for a can of corn. Staple groceries increased per pound from 20 per cent for flour to 33 per cent for sugar and rolled oats, to 100 per cent for rice, 112 per cent for tea and 114 per cent for cod-fish. Fruit increases were: peaches, quart, 67 per cent; Baldwin apples, pound, 116 per cent; bananas, 135 per cent, and lemons, 122 per cent, per dozen; while vegetables increased from 60 per cent per pint box of tomatoes to 100 per cent for cabbage, carrots and beets, to 150 per cent for celery. Of the sixty products enumerated, 26 increased from 17 to 50 per cent, twenty-one from 50 to 100 per cent and fourteen over 100 per cent.

And these it must be remembered are the costs added to food stuffs by the retailers only, including, of course, cartage and delivery charges.



*What These Costs Mean to the Consumer and the Farmer*

It is difficult for the imagination to grasp just what these costs of distributing farm produce mean in lower prices to farmers and higher prices to consumers. The consumers of New York City pay annually around \$645,000,000 for food. This food costs at the terminal \$350,000,000. That is to say, the people of New York City are paying over \$150,000,000 each year to have their foodstuffs taken from the terminal to their kitchens. At a cost of 14 cents per meal per person, for all classes in Philadelphia, high and low, rich and poor, Philadelphia citizens are spending \$225,000,000 every year for food. Of this amount they pay something less than \$75,000,000 each year in cartage and delivery costs and in retailers' profits.

Of the \$146,000,000 paid annually by the people of New York City for eggs, milk, onions and potatoes, less than \$50,000,000 was received by the men who raised these crops. For certain produce for which the eastern farmer last summer received \$1, the Philadelphia consumer paid \$2.35.

Is it not needless to point out other results of this method of distributing food products? Is it not clear that the interests of every farmer and every consumer point to the necessity for developing a cheaper method of food distribution whereby at least much of the handling and the profits of a few of the middlemen may be eliminated? All are interested in cheaper costs for food distribution. The farmer, is of course, because it means higher prices. The consumer is because that is his only hope for lower prices. But so is the city! And the labor employer!

If our urban dwellers are to have released a larger share of their incomes for other than subsistence purposes, these food costs must be reduced. Probably half of them now spend annually nearly half of their income for food. In the future that city will have the best civic and industrial prosperity which first perfects plans whereby subsistence costs may be reduced to its each and every citizen. In the past city growth depended on the exploitation of virgin resources and in the development of new industries. From now on, city growth must hinge more and more largely upon community efficiency expressed in lower living costs. The food problem is vitally wrapped up with the solution of the city's industrial supremacy and the extension of its industrial boundaries. Thus Philadelphia's every interest

will be enhanced by placing its \$225,000,000 yearly food purchasing power as near as possible to the gate of the farmers from whom its food supply must be purchased.

Moreover, the manufacturer and the employer of labor should be particularly interested in a reduction of the food supply costs, and in perfecting a closer industrial unity between the city and all of the surrounding agricultural communities. According to all statistics available in 1904, over 60 per cent of the males, at least sixteen years of age, employed in manufacturing, mining, trade, transportation and other occupations associated with industrial life, were earning less than \$626 per annum, or about \$2 a day, while 30 per cent were receiving between \$626 and \$1,000 and only 10 per cent were receiving \$1,000 per annum. If to these, the agricultural laborers are added, 65 per cent of all laborers in the United States receive annually less than \$626, 27 per cent from \$626 to \$1,000, and only 8 per cent, \$1,000 or above.

This means that half of the present total yearly income of 65 per cent of the city wage earners must be spent for food; and this means, with a family of five, that the food cost per day must not be over 28 cents per family, or 5 cents per person per meal. Now the labor employer, if he wishes contented labor, and the city, if it wishes well nourished citizens, must squarely face this food problem. There are only two ways by which it can be solved. First, by increasing the money wages of the laborer, and second, by increasing the actual wage through a reduction of living costs. Any plan whatsoever, therefore, that will tend to have any effect upon lowering food costs should have the hearty coöperation not only of the city as such but also of every manufacturer or other employer and all others interested in the wage earning class.

#### CAN DISTRIBUTION COSTS BE LOWERED?

Can this method of distribution be simplified, and can distribution costs be lowered? This question can be most thoroughly answered by resolving it into three questions: (1) Can the wholesaler's commission be lowered, and his abuses prevented? (2) Can the retailer's profits be reduced, and his abuses abated? (3) To what extent and how can the middlemen be eliminated so that the producer may sell as directly as possible to the consumer?

*I. Can the Wholesaler's Commission be Lowered, and his Abuses Prevented?*

Through the elimination of the risks due to methods of assembling and distributing farm products, it is only reasonable to expect that the commission charged by the wholesale commission merchant or the profit made by the wholesale jobber of farm produce should be decreased. There is some evidence to indicate that there has been a slight diminution in such commissions and profits. But numerous other abuses have arisen, none of which needs to be enumerated to farmers. Farmers are already too familiar with such practices as reporting goods to be sold as low grade when they were sold as high grade; reporting half the chickens dead when but 5 per cent were dead; and the making of dishonest returns. Another practice is to lower the published quotations on goods sold at some of the leading markets, such as Chicago, Philadelphia, or New York, so that it appears 1 or 2 cents below the price at which sales were actually made. This fact was brought out in the recent action of the federal government in imposing a fine on the market commission of Kansas City. Another practice is to report a sale as occurring at a time different from when the sale actually occurred. For instance, if a consignment of potatoes is sold at 35 cents a bushel in the morning, and the price rises in the afternoon to 38 cents a bushel the commission man reports the sale as occurring in the morning and pockets the difference.

These practices are of concern to all, because they mean: lower prices to farmers, and therefore less purchasing power in the country; higher prices to consumers; want of confidence in each business center, destroying the business of the honest wholesaler and jobber because shipments are sent elsewhere, and destroying the confidence in the city to which goods are sent to market, thereby decreasing selling facilities, and making it more difficult for producer, retailer and consumer to get proper prices for their goods, and to get goods at proper prices.

There is at hand a means by which such abuses may be reduced to a minimum. This method has been adopted in Texas, Oregon, Washington and Minnesota. Under it the wholesaler must obtain a license from some state authority, filing, at the same time, a bond to the state, for the benefit of consignors. Under the Minnesota law, the commission merchant must indicate the exact minute and hour of

the day when the sale was made. This is to prevent the abuses as to depressed quotations just indicated. Of particular importance are the provisions of the Washington law authorizing the Commissioner of Horticulture to hear and pass upon any complaints by farmers; requiring the books of such concerns to be kept open for inspection by the Secretary of Horticulture, who also has plenary powers of regulation and supervision. This law gives to the farmer an indirect and inexpensive method for ferreting out to what extent he has been injured and for securing compensation for such injuries.

Another remedy is to put terminal wholesale markets under the ownership and control of the municipality. The New York Market Commission is advocating a wholesale terminal municipal market for New York City. The Commission fully believes that this terminal wholesale market will save cartage expenses; for there, as in Philadelphia, large quantities of food supplies are carried past their point of destination to a distributing center and then back again. Thus large quantities of food supplies are carried past Brooklyn and the Bronx to the commission houses in Manhattan and from these carried back to Brooklyn and the Bronx. In Philadelphia, the farmer who comes to the city to dispose of his products at Vine or Dock Street wharf, drives ten miles through the heart of the city. His goods are then purchased by a vender who drives back the ten miles and sells them to the consumers along exactly the same road that the farmer passed. Adequate terminal wholesale facilities might do away with some of this extra cartage though it is very clear that they will also add to it in other respects.

The terminal wholesale municipal market, as urged by New York's Commission, would relieve congestion in several parts of the city, provide a conspicuous place for producers to send to and an economic stand so that they can sell cheaper, make it possible for licensed gardeners and farmers to sell their articles of food, provide better refrigeration and storage facilities, reduce the cost of distribution, provide sanitary conditions for handling food stuffs, permit segregation of live poultry, provide for storage of food in time of plenty against a time of scarcity, eliminate two classes of middlemen between the producer and consumer, and put the control of the food supply under the public authority. The plan of placing terminal wholesale facilities under municipal control and operation will unquestionably make for the elimination of certain of the middlemen, will

make for the payment of higher prices, because of the large number of buyers present, and will give to retailers a greater choice of goods.

## *II. Can Retailers' Profits be Reduced and their Abuses Eliminated?*

The situation as to the retailers of food products in the city can well be illustrated by the situation in Philadelphia. There are at the present time in this city about 490 chain stores, subdivided about as follows: Acme Tea Company, 201; Robinson and Crawford, 100; Butler, 51; James Bell, 73; George M. Dunlap Company, 41; Mecca Market Company, 24. In addition to these there are 700 members of the Retail Grocers' Association, now known as "Triangle Stores." In addition to these two groups, there are, according to *Boyd's Register*, 4,169 independent grocers. As Dr. E. M. Patterson points out, "a fair statement of the situation, however, should include 10 per cent, or 200, of the 2,000 butchers and retail meat dealers as at least that percentage of them carry some groceries as a side line. In addition there are 258 delicatessen stores, all of which compete with the grocers and 1,923 'variety stores,' a large number of which also compete in many lines." For purposes of comparison, the chain stores and the triangle stores may be included in the same group. This makes 1,190 chain stores as compared with 6,550 "independent" stores. Comparing the three groups we find that of the total 7 per cent are chain stores, 11 per cent are members of the Retail Grocers' Association, and 82 per cent are "independent."

It is clear that the maximum point to which prices can be boosted by the retailers is that fixed by a subsistence wage on the part of these small "independent" stores. That is, the possibility in upward prices to the consumer is fixed by the cost of keeping up the average small, inefficient store throughout the city. The chain stores, and it must ever be remembered that there are all kinds of chain stores, as a rule keep prices up almost to the level charged by the large number of small stores. No one assumes that the chain stores, as a whole, are charging a just price in a sense that they charge the lowest price that would give them a reasonable profit. But for the chain stores to lower their prices further would mean the driving out of the small stores. It is clearly evident that these small independent stores are slowly wearing out, despite the fact that there are today, in New York City, about 11,000 of them.

The chain stores first became a vital factor in Philadelphia about 1895. Their success has been due chiefly (1) to their cash sales which make possible a quick turn over of the capital invested; (2) to the elimination of losses from bad bills; (3) to their ability to purchase their goods in large quantities from the jobber or direct from the manufacturer; (4) to economies in distribution within the city, due to their ability to use motor trucks from store to store; and (5) economies in management made possible by their control from a central office. It is these economies that are also making possible the Child restaurants, the Horn and Hardart restaurants, the Woolworth 5 and 10 cent stores, etc. The same principle is applied by the United Cigar Stores. That is to say, the principle of retailing in the future will probably be to keep a limited variety of goods which can be turned over from day to day, with a minimum of overhead charges, with surplus stocks, with small rents, with knowledge of local customs, with few bad debts. That is, the small, independent corner groceryman, if he fails, does so not because he is small, but because he cannot avail himself of the economies noted above for chain stores.

One of the most potent factors in fixing food prices is the fact that so many goods are being standardized both as to quality and price; for, on many such goods, the price is fixed by manufacturers' agreements. By standardized goods I mean Campbell's soups, Van Camp's soups, the many varieties of the Heinz products, the many kinds of breakfast foods known to all housekeepers. The inevitable result of this standardization in price and quality is the temptation for the small storeman to boost prices on perishable products, that is, on just those in which the farmer is most directly interested. To increase profits and get the maximum returns, the retailer is also under temptation to sell articles at under-weight, to make overcharges, to misrepresent, to deteriorate, and to pack falsely. There are four schemes for eliminating these abuses by retailers and for lowering the costs that now go to them as profits. First, public ownership and operation of retail stores; second, coöperative stores; third, price regulation; fourth, readjustment of existing transportation and distribution agencies so that the unnecessary handling by middlemen, and all unnecessary cartage, may be eliminated, economies for retailers effected, and information as to prices of food stuffs and profits disseminated, so that the consumer can guard himself against exploitation and abuse.

*Public Ownership.* Public ownership is urged by some as the only solution of the problem. This scheme, however, is as yet little more than a "wish," and that on the part of but a few of our people. Certainly the cost of the venture alone puts it out of the question for the time being.

*Coöperative Stores.* The formation of coöperative stores is a second proposal. I refer here to real coöperative stores, owned and operated by the consumers, not the so-called coöperative stores recently adopted by certain corporations for their employees. Co-operative stores, owned and operated by the consumers, have back of them years of success, expressed in millions of dollars of dividends. In Great Britain alone there are today 2,700,000 members of such concerns, or, counting them as heads of families, one-fourth of the total population. Germany follows with 1,600,000, France, one-half as many, Austria, 500,000, Russia, 300,000, and in Italy and Switzerland, a quarter of a million each. Denmark, Sweden, Belgium and Finland have smaller numbers, though a larger percentage of the population.

Such stores in America have thus far had a rather gloomy history. Where a score have started, one has succeeded. The probable reason for the failure of the Farmers' Alliance stores, however, was that they were organizations of country buyers and rural dwellers, all of whom have a poorly developed feeling of class solidarity and have, therefore, little loyalty to a store because it is their own. It is to be noted, also, that the coöperative store plan ameliorates conditions *chiefly for its members*. Save in so far as such stores become numerous enough to affect competitive conditions in the average city store, they will be of no advantage to those non-members who must, through need, avail themselves of the lowest prices.

*Price Regulation.* A third group of people advocate a price-fixing industrial commission with power to fix food prices at a point that will bring reasonable returns on the investment, and with power as well to prevent abuses in weights and measures, and quality. It is proposed that this commission be endowed with powers similar to those exercised by the Interstate Commerce Commission and public service commissions over the rates and service of common carriers. The legal, as well as the practical, results of this proposal, however, must await greater consolidation of the stores into large competing units; for no commission could fix a "reasonable" price for each of the articles in each of the many stores now existing in any city.

Should the food retailing business of the city be divided up in the future, as it gives promise to be, among a very few competing chain companies, a price-fixing commission will not only be desirable, but essential to the protection of the public. Nothing can hasten this more rapidly than the creation of a chain of coöperative stores, for, since the economies of the chain store are so evidently greater than the economies of the small independent groceryman, the injection of a chain of coöperative stores would inevitably mean the driving out of the small, independent groceryman, and hasten the day when the consumers would be depending upon the will of a small number of monopolies for the price they must pay for their food stuffs. But as schemes of price regulation of food stuffs by an industrial commission offer little hope of immediate adoption, they cannot be looked to as a remedial agent for present conditions.

*Readjustment of Existing Transportation and Distribution Agencies.* The fourth plan is so to readjust existing transportation and distribution agencies that all unnecessary handling and cartage may be eliminated, and all the information disseminated essential to bringing a well-informed producer and a well-informed consumer as close together as it is at all possible to do. Steps can be taken, and are now being taken, in this direction, whereby the long and expensive route now existing between producer and consumer may be shortened, and whereby this shorter route may be made the standard for prices instead of the longer route as is now the case. The third question in the reduction of distribution costs is to what extent and how can the middleman be eliminated so that the producer may sell as direct as possible to the consumer.

### III. A Shorter Route from Producer to Consumer

The characteristic in present-day tendencies in food distribution is the awakened activity on the part alike of farmers, middlemen, and retailers to shorten the route from producer to consumer, and to make their business units include all the stages of distribution.

A decade ago the wholesale commission men in their conferences and meetings were passing resolutions stating in stirring words that "business" required that retailers buy from wholesalers and wholesalers from farmers, and that any attempt on the part of either the farmer or the retailer to eliminate the middleman was destructive of all good "business principles." Today, the farmer is organizing him-



self in coöperative associations, the middleman is sending his own motor truck out into the country to buy direct from the farmer and controlling his own retail stores, and the retailer, typified by the chain stores, is extending his operations to include all the activities in food distribution from the time it leaves the farm until it reaches the consumer's table.

Not only are chain stores bringing about a saving of at least 20 per cent in buying directly, that is, by having a salaried man do the work theretofore done on commission by a professional wholesaler, but many of the larger retail stores are buying in the same way. In Philadelphia, which is typical of other cities, 18 per cent of the stores are buying directly, these representing a very large proportion of the total amount of produce sold. It is this condition that has made the wholesaler realize in the past year that the amount he can dispose of is limited by the price charged by the retailer, and makes him feel that his avenue for sales is limited. These facts, it is, that account for his appeal to such agencies as the Housewives Leagues, to sell goods he cannot longer sell through the old-time channels.

The significant movement of the twentieth century is the tendency among farmers, produce growers, and horticulturalists, to increase their facilities for direct marketing by organizing coöperative associations. Fruits, vegetables, grain, tobacco, peanuts, rice and other food products are being sold more and more largely directly from the orchard and farm to the consumer or to the large retailer.

Through coöperative organizations the farmers of Denmark are now exporting more than \$90,000,000 worth of butter, eggs and meats every year. Practically all the milk of that country is handled by coöperative creameries. In 1910 there were thirty-four coöperative bacon factories with a total membership of about 93,000 farmers, which slaughter annually more than \$1,545,000 worth of hogs to supply their rapidly growing trade. The Danish Export Society did a business in 1908 of more than \$6,600,000. Irish coöperative organizations have done a total business to date of \$125,000,000, a turn over, in 1911, of nearly \$15,000,000. The Hood River Apple Growers' Union of Oregon, with a paid up capital of \$25,000 controls the packing and shipping and inspection of fruits, conducts its own cold storage plant and manufactures artificial ice. It handled 40,000 boxes of apples in 1910. Since its organization it has increased the prices received by its members from 60 cents to \$2 a box.

While in every nation and among every class of business, the route from producer to consumer is being shortened, yet these savings have, thus far, had slight effect on consumers' prices for foodstuffs because the majority of these foodstuffs still take the old round-about route through the hands of many men. The hope of the future is that through proper activity on the part of city, state and nation, through the coöperation of public-spirited transportation concerns, through the organization of coöperative societies on the part of farmers and consumers, through the increased opportunities for municipal wholesale and retail markets, through the demand for lower prices on the part of the consumer, this shorter route may be made the standard route.

One definite civic and municipal activity that will encourage this tendency is the establishment of municipal wholesale and retail markets. There are today many so-called markets in all the large cities. Most of them, however, have come to be not markets in the sense of the word that there the producer and consumer meet, but rather groups of professional retail dealers. Farmers do not play any appreciable part in the sale of foodstuffs to Philadelphia's consumers in over ten of the forty-seven wards of the city, and in these ten wards, they do not sell to over 10 per cent of the people. This style of market has been rapidly declining in the last ten years, first, because a one-time residence section is now a business section, and hence no consumers are at hand, and second, because the standard type of store is now the small store, where there is a quick turn-over and where the stock kept from day to day is relatively small. Successful markets, therefore, should be in residence sections, and need be only large enough to give the purchaser ample choice. The housewife today does not like to seek a distant store, and when she does "go to market" she wants to buy of farmers, not of professional retailers.

Each city should stringently regulate its existing private markets and give protection both to the market purchaser and the bona fide farmer. For instance, in the Philadelphia markets today, there is nothing to prohibit any retail dealer from taking a stall, in any private or municipal market, and representing himself as a farmer who sells his own produce. There are many men at certain markets with large signs proclaiming themselves to be farmers who have no farms and who either purchase their goods at the wharves at wholesale or are merely jobbers who spend three or four days in some neighboring

town, such as Lancaster, buying produce from the farmers and then selling it at their stalls on market days as their own produce. The result is that the bona fide farmer and the honest dealer are both put to a great disadvantage and the consumer is forced to conclude that there is no advantage to be gained by buying at the markets. City ordinances should require that none but bona fide farmers or gardeners could display signs proclaiming themselves as such, and should require adequate inspection by city inspectors with heavy penalties for violation. The city might well undertake to do what the state of Wisconsin now proposes to do—assist farmers to secure the names of bona fide residents who wish to buy directly. Then the farmers who do not wish to sell at markets, could use the hamper method made so famous by Mr. Fullerton, of Long Island, or other means of direct shipment. The Growers and Shippers Exchange of Rochester, New York, has been highly successful in standardizing retail prices on farm products by using a package small enough to pass through grocers' or dealers' hands, and to be bought directly by the consumer himself. Every city and state must have a stringent weights and measures ordinance and law, with adequate means for their enforcement.

State and national laws do much now to prevent misbranding and adulteration, though in this field there is still opportunity for improvement. While the national law prevents misbranding as to the contents or weight in a food package, it is still possible to put either a 50 cent or a 15 cent price on exactly the same can of, say, baking powder. There are also laws preventing monopolistic agreements, but there are, as yet, no adequate means for the dissolution of local retail trusts and for the annulment of improper price agreements. Cold-storage laws that encourage conservation of foodstuffs are also essential. The time limit on these, however, should not, as in certain proposed laws, be so short as to deny to the farmer opportunity to hold his goods for the proper length of time, and to the consumer opportunity to buy in cold storage during seasons of slight or no production. The work of the food inspection departments of city, state and nation, should include constructive work on the part of the food department and not only the legal, negative police work of attempting to abolish evils, so that the consumer may be taught the significance and value of certain foods, to the end that every housewife may be a well-informed food inspector.

And, finally, to prevent abuses by retailers, such as over-charges, misrepresentation, false packing, under-weight, etc., there is needed an organization of consumers such as the Housewives League, to give publicity to current abuses. In this way prices can be lowered, and abuses prevented. The Housewives League of Philadelphia and other cities has done yeoman service in giving publicity to abuses of this nature. A permanent organization with a duty in the food world akin to the duty of the Voters' League in the political world, could, through publicity, prevent prices from being boosted to unreasonable heights, and prevent under-handed practices of all kinds for which the consumer must ultimately pay.

#### AGENCIES FOR LOCAL DISTRIBUTION

The jobber and the commission merchant will always be essential in national distribution of food products. In sharing risk, in transporting goods, in financing operations, in assembling, assorting and reshipping goods, in finding markets, etc., they perform a definite social function, and hence they will always be with us. But their activities are not so essential for selling in the city the produce raised in the outlying country. The possibility of reducing the costs of food distribution lies primarily in increasing the facilities for selling "at home." The shorter route between producer and consumer will then become the standard one for fixing prices. To further this movement, emphasis must be placed upon certain local agencies for transportation. It is in selling "at home" that distribution costs are to be lowered. The twentieth century has brought us certain newer agencies for local distribution that have extended the meaning of the word "home" to include all markets within a radius of fifty or more miles from the farm. Most eastern farmers can find an adequate outlet for their produce within such a radius. It is mainly in the development of direct shipments to relatively nearby markets that the farmer's returns can be increased and consumers' prices lowered.

During the year ending June 30, 1889, the freight traffic on railroads of the United States was about 69,000,000,000 ton miles. Twenty years later this freight amounted to 219,000,000,000 ton miles. This three-fold increase is accounted for to a small extent through a greater mileage but in the main to an increase in the amount carried per mile. The density of traffic in 1909 was more than double

that of 1889. Not only has the amount hauled increased, but the rate of speed has likewise increased. The rate of speed over long distances for carloads of perishable freight now averages around 13.1 miles per hour from Los Angeles to Chicago; 16.2 miles from New Orleans to Chicago; 15.8 miles from Tampa, Florida, to Richmond, Virginia; 16 miles from Tampa to New York. In other words, for perishable freight, Los Angeles is but 173 hours and 25 minutes from Chicago; Jacksonville, Florida, is but 89½ hours from Chicago (1,140 miles); New Orleans, but 57 hours and 20 minutes from Chicago; Washington, D. C., is but 12 hours from New York, 38 hours from Boston, and 46 hours from Montreal. It is thus possible for fruit and vegetables grown in regions as far away as southern Florida to be delivered to consumers in Chicago and New York within 5 days after gathering. It takes about the same time for produce gathered 25 miles out from Philadelphia to reach the Philadelphia market. Moreover, long haul shipments have better refrigeration facilities.

Where the farming is on a sufficiently large scale, the unit of quantity for a shipment is, of course, a carload. The freight rates for carloads are lower, the time of transit shorter, the risk of injury less, the opportunity for securing a better market higher, the probabilities of adequate returns vastly greater. But not all farmers can sell direct in carload lots. To ship by less than carload lots means higher freight rates, delays in transit, fewer markets, greater time in transit, with consequent deterioration in produce, and, therefore, less returns to the average farmer, for few indeed are the farmers who can alone ship by the carload.

There are several plans by which small shippers can join in making up a carload. Many of the steam roads now conduct local "pick up" services. Small assignments are collected from a number of stations and brought to a given point to be combined into carloads. Some of the railroads also run special market trains in order to pick up relatively small quantities. A third plan is the professional forwarding agent, whose business it is to collect small consignments and to ship them to market. Such agents have worked up a good business in Indiana, Michigan and Tennessee. This plan offers exceptional possibilities for savings in local shipments everywhere.

There are at hand, however, certain newer agencies for distributing farm produce that are much more mobile, cheaper and more effective for local distribution. These are: trolley freight, motor

trucks, water transportation, parcels post, and good roads. The advantages of these agencies of local distribution are: first, they lower the cost of haul to the station. In 1905-06 the total cost of haul of twelve products from farms to shipping points was \$73,000,000. More significant still, the greater the distance from the station, the less frequently are food products taken to market, and, therefore, the greater the loss through decay and deterioration both to the consumer and the producer. Second, they make it possible to ship in less than carload lots and, therefore, to handle the surplus of the average small farmer. Third, goods can be delivered immediately to the market or section of the city where needed.

The features of trolley freight that make its possibilities loom up so large are:

1. Frequent stops at small outlay, thus reducing the cost of the farmer's haul to station, and saving time to the farmer.

2. Tapping regions inadequately served by other carriers, thus placing many farmers several hours nearer the city's markets.

3. Farmers can market their produce while fresh, thus securing higher prices.

4. The ease of shipment in smaller quantities than over railroads, (which are essentially carload lot and wholesale distributors), thus giving a new avenue for marketing the surplus of small farmers, and for focussing attention upon the nature of the output of all farmers.

5. It reaches sections of the city not reached by railroad terminals, thus making possible the distribution of food products to the needier sections of the large city and exactly to the market center in the small city; both cartage and time are saved.

6. It increases the facilities for getting the output of manufacturing establishments to railroad stations, and from the city to outlying suburbs and farmers, thereby enhancing both urban and farm values.

7. Country merchants do not have to tie up their capital in large stocks.

8. An express service at freight rates.

9. It pays. The leading difficulty is to get freight from the city to the farm so as to avoid "empties" on the outward run.

The use to which trolley lines are put as freight carriers may be classified as: (1) Carrying farm produce to market, and miscellaneous manufactures and merchandise to the country; (2) carrying carload

lots as feeders of the steam railroads; (3) handling parcels and lighter packages into and out of the large cities; (4) acting as a means of urban distribution.

The farm produce carried to market includes milk, butter, eggs, fruit, poultry, livestock and all farm products. Examples of the use to which this means of trolley transportation can be put are found in the practices of certain middle western trolley companies and in the newly developed service in Boston.

Centering in Indianapolis are eleven electric express and trolley freight lines, bringing in upwards of 15,000 tons of freight per month, the major portion being foodstuffs. The city secures over 75 per cent of its market supplies over trolley lines. A long distance telephone message at five in the morning brings fruit and vegetables from a radius of fifty miles. The result is a splendidly developed agricultural section and a better development in the manufacturing and commercial possibilities of Indianapolis, and a lower food cost to the Indianapolis consumer. South Bend and Fort Wayne, Indiana; St. Louis, Missouri; cities in southern Illinois; Chicago; Columbus, Dayton, Toledo, Cincinnati and Cleveland in Ohio, are other cities already profiting by such traffic. In many of these cities are open municipal markets with the trolley lines running directly to them so that farmers may receive retail prices for their goods.

There are about three thousand miles of street railway track in Massachusetts, and the greater portion of this mileage is within fifty miles of Boston. A definite effort is now being made by the Bay Street Railway Company to develop its incoming and outgoing freight by bringing into the city boot and shoe findings, and especially farm products of all kinds, and to take out to the farm department-store packages, hardware, meats, paper, vegetables and fruit from other lands and all commodities manufactured in the vicinity. This company now has in use seventeen express and freight cars with a capacity of twenty tons each, heated by electric heaters to protect perishable goods in cold weather, with open bulkheads for cooling purposes in warm weather. The vestibules are so arranged that the windows can be lowered and thus, by air circulation, prevent deterioration of goods in transit. During the warm months, the cars stop and pick up the produce from each of the suburban lines throughout the country districts, thus saving the farmer even the haul to a railway station as well as giving him a more mobile and efficient method of getting

his produce to just the point in Boston where he can dispose of it with greatest profit. The express rates charged are  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent lower than those charged by the old line express companies, while the freight rates average but from one to three cents per hundred in excess of steam rates. The metropolitan division of the Toronto and York Radial Railway Company have special schedules whereby shipments are made direct from farm to municipal markets in four of the towns served by the company.

The possibilities for an increased use of trolley freight in Pennsylvania are unlimited. The state ranks second in track mileage among all the states in the Union, having 4,343 miles, and stands second also in regard to the amount of invested capital. One-tenth of the street railway mileage in the United States, and about one-tenth of the capital stock invested in street railways, lie in Pennsylvania. Not all of this, to be sure, is in the outlying sections, but so large a portion of it is that its significance as a means of distributing farmers' products is very great indeed, especially when it is coupled with the possibility of unlimited freight distribution within the city, thus placing the farmers' products exactly where they are needed and where the best prices can be obtained. The use of trolley freight in this state is in its infancy, as the law permitting electric lines to handle freight was passed only in 1907. Where given a fair trial under competent management, it has always proved profitable and has grown so rapidly as clearly to show that the farmers welcome such a means of transportation. Thus the Pittsburgh and Butler Street Railway Company recently inaugurated their freight business only after long and careful consideration, and then primarily to accommodate many patrons along the various lines, the directors believing that the business would be neither practicable nor profitable. Larger facilities and frequent schedules were soon demanded. Last year the business in and out of Pittsburgh totaled *one hundred million pounds!* Further increases await added terminal facilities through the enactment by the legislature of the Isler bill (house bill no. 1067) giving to cities of Pennsylvania power to lease their public wharves for terminal sheds or stations, and to erect and maintain market houses therein.

The existing unsatisfactory condition of the trolley freight service in Pennsylvania is due in the main to three reasons: (a) the difference in gauge or in wheel specifications so that through freight cars cannot be run into the city; (b) want of proper traffic agreements;



(c) want of interest in certain of the trolley lines in the development of trolley freight.

Trolley freight saves time to farmers. For instance, a farmer, fifteen or twenty miles from Philadelphia, will now take a day to drive to the Philadelphia market, a day to sell his produce, and a day to get home. Thus half his week is gone. With trolley freight, he could and does load his goods on a trolley car at six in the evening, take an early train to the city the next morning, sell direct to the consumers en route or at the market, and be back home in the early afternoon, using but half a day instead of three, and keeping his invested capital at home at productive work. With a proper trolley freight system the farmers of each district could organize a town office and exhibit where their products could be sold at wholesale or directly to the consumer at one of the markets or a rented place elsewhere, or the organization might do without an office and carry on business largely by direct shipment to the consumer.

Farm produce when shipped over steam railroads must be handled a number of times. It must (1) be loaded on the wagons at the farm, (2) then placed on the station platform, (3) to be loaded on to the cars, (4) unloaded, (5) on to a platform and then (6) upon a vehicle, (7) to be taken to the wholesale market where (8) it is again unloaded, (9) only to be loaded a few hours later on (10) the carts and wagons of the retailer, (11) to be taken to his store, then (12) to be loaded on to delivery wagons, (13) to be taken to the consumer. With the use of motor trucks, the produce could be loaded at the farmer's gate (the truck going, as is frequently done already, from farm to farm, until an entire load has been accumulated), then taken immediately to the retailer or to the section of the city where needed. This saving in handling and the increased possibilities in direct marketing will make the motor truck a leading agency for food distribution in the future. The charges for a five ton gasoline truck, including interest at 6 per cent on an investment of \$4,800, insurance and driver, range from \$6.96 per day for a run of twenty miles up to \$8.39 per day for a run of fifty miles. A large Brooklyn, N. Y., department store displaced thirty-three horses with eleven trucks. The cost for six months was \$8,709 for the horse delivery, previously used, as compared with \$7,349 for the electric trucks, a saving of \$1,360 in favor of the machines. In both cases, the salaries of drivers and helpers were the same, and, therefore, not a part of the comparison. For express service the four leading American companies have already

invested \$1,500,000 in motor trucks to facilitate the prompt and economical handling of packages. But, of greatest significance, motor trucks save time. Thus the Starkey Produce Company found that their wagons required nine hours to make a round trip. With the motor truck, they have supplanted five wagons and make the round trip in three hours. Hence they could market perishable produce the same day it was gathered.

The savings of the motor truck within the city limits are even greater. Thomas Edison is reported as stating the case in this way: "Fifty per cent of all the freight in the world is moved to and from railroad stations by the horse-drawn vehicle. The automobile truck of half the length takes double the freight and goes twice as fast." From such facts as this it is not hard to see what the future has in store in the way of reorganized food distribution through the wider use of the motor truck. When our cities are planned so that terminals are so placed as to eliminate unnecessary cartage and hauling, large savings can be made. In Philadelphia 5,000 vehicles are used in carting and hauling freight. At \$5 per day for 300 days per year this means an annual charge of \$7,500,000. A proper city plan could materially lower these costs.

More direct access to markets can also be secured through the development of water transportation. Certain lines centering in Baltimore have developed a system of transportation and distribution that has given to numerous farmers access to markets they could never have reached through steam railway routes, with resulting increase in farmers' prices and a definite effect on consumers' prices. The motor boat is a potent factor in getting products from Long Island to New York markets. The gasoline barge and the truck boat should have increasing places in the short haul and traffic for produce in Atlantic states. We may yet find that our old canals and waterways, once so highly prized, may have their value largely returned. The development of our city wharves, with the power in our cities to own and operate wharves, and market piers, the completion of the New Jersey Ship Canal, and the other intercoastal waterways, will all aid in getting eastern farmers nearer by many hours to the markets of the urban centers.

Of distinct significance in the way of reducing hours to market in heavier loads, and in ease of shipment, is the development of inter-county roads. Farm values along roads centering in good urban markets have instantly reflected their advantages in higher values.

The good roads movement is of importance to every farmer, as all farmers must use the roads. The significance of having good county roads centering in the city is especially appreciated by Morris L. Cooke, Director of the Department of Public Works of Philadelphia, who is at present planning to use all the means in his power to perfect the leading county roads centering in that city. A similar movement elsewhere could well be made in the interests of both consumer and producer.

Related to the possibilities of road development are the possibilities of sending farmers' produce into the city by parcels post. The fullest use of parcels post will necessitate a change in the present law, although the parcels post is now of inestimable value to the farmer in purchasing from stores, especially those within the first zone. The development of a postal express, the rates for which are based solely on the cost of operation and adequate return on investment, cannot but have in this country, as it has had in European countries, a definite effect on direct marketing, and ease of shipment of small packages.

#### CONCLUSION

Through more thorough development of freight service by steam roads, with particular attention to shipments of less than carload lots, through the development of trolley freight, through the increased use of the motor truck, and of the motor boat, through a complete system of good inter-county roads and through a postals express, a more efficient, cheaper and more complete transportation system can be created covering all the outlying agricultural area near each market. Such a transportation system will result in a marked advance in the economic well-being of farmers; will focus attention upon the possibilities of the farm; will help farmers adapt their output to the peculiar needs of their nearby city; decrease cost to farmer and consumer through direct marketing; increase purchasing power for the city's stores and manufactures; encourage the suburb and discourage urban congestion; and will bring lower prices and better produce to the city consumer. The city does not end with its boundary lines; it is as extensive as its purchasing clientele. Coöperation of city and country is essential to the happiness and welfare of each. Let city and country everywhere coöperate and the farmer and city dweller can both more largely sell and buy at home, thus encouraging mutual prosperity. Herein is a program worthy of greater civic effort.